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47.

CELTICISM A MYTH.

BY

JAMES CRUIKSHANK ROGER,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

AND FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

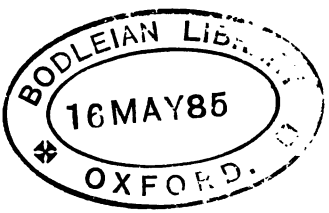
He that has a mind to believe, has half assented already; and he that, by often arguing against his own sense, imposes falsehood on others, is not far from believing himself."—*Locke*

LONDON:

E. W. ALLEN, 4, AVE MARIA LANE.

MDCCCLXXXIV.

LONDON:
PRINTED AT THE COURTS OF JUSTICE PRINTING WORKS
BY DIPROSE, BATEMAN & CO.



CELTICISM A MYTH.

The title "Celticism a Myth," is intended to express my conviction that the assumption of Celtic civilisation and Celtic art is utterly without foundation. The doctrine that a high state of culture existed among the aboriginal inhabitants of these islands has been made to pass current with the multitude through the ingenuity of writers committed to a particular hypothesis, whose arbitrary conclusions, in contempt of the rules of evidence, have been implicitly accepted as immutable truth. I can only suppose that the reason why Celtic expositors have so long enjoyed immunity for their favourite idol is, that not being a subject of vital importance,[1] the interest

[1] Some years ago, meeting with a well-known learned Professor—an enthusiast in Celtic literature—at the house of George Mac Donald, I discussed with him the ethnological question of the Picts, who, he contended, were a Celtic race. I afterwards submitted for his opinion the print of a paper on this subject, contributed to *Notes and Queries*. His deliverance, as it appeared to me, was neither very profound nor particularly relevant, and concluded with the remark that even if the Picts were a Gothic people, it would not interfere with his eternal salvation. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that I did not perceive the connection between the eternal salvation of the learned Professor and the Gothic origin of the Picts.

in it is limited to very few persons, and that in this utilitarian age the more capable, who apply themselves to questions of greater practical interest, will not be induced to give the matter their serious consideration. Besides, a degree of obloquy is attached to the placing of one's self in antagonism to those who are conventionally regarded as the oracles of archæological faith, and whose dictum it is an offence to question. Not being imbued, however, with a superstitious reverence for mere names, I venture, in the interests of truth, to direct attention to this subject, in the hope that the matter may be taken up by some one with more time and better appliances at his disposal than I can command.

It is satisfactory to know that the cobwebs of Celticism which surrounded the Scottish Brochs, and the so-called Celtic structure of Maeshowe, in Orkney — two strongholds of the Celtic theorists, have at last been completely brushed away by the masterly hand of the author of *Rude Stone Monuments*,[2] who has proved to demonstration, so far as the thing is capable of proof, that these were the work of the Northmen. "If" this writer concludes, "it can be shown

[2] *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, by James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.

that the Celts in this land reached a degree of civilisation between the years 500 and 1000 sufficient to render it probable that they were the builders of the Brochs, it has not been done, and till it is it seems more probable that the men who could build ships and organise fleets which were the terror of not only the North of Scotland, but of England and Ireland, and even of France, were a superior race, and in so far at least as constructive necessities were concerned, more likely to be the builders of the Brochs. Even, however, if a better case can be made out for the civilisation of the Celts in Brochland than I am willing to admit, it must I think be conceded that the Norwegians were their superiors, not only for the reasons just stated, but because they conquered and occupied their country, and finally extirpated or expelled the Celts from these islands, and the parts of the Continent where they first and most frequently settled. We know their position and prowess; we wait for an account of that of the races they conquered and annihilated." This is the language of common sense, and appeals to the judgment of every man of rational intelligence. Certainly as regards the construction of the Brochs it consists with probability that a people of whom

Dr. Johnson observes that they "possessed the arts of life" would display all the engineering skill necessary to the defence of their new conquests. Worsaae says the Irish chronicles attest that in the art of fortification the Norwegians were far superior to the Irish (p. 323). There seems little reason to doubt that the so-called "British Forts" found in different parts of Wales are also the work of the Northmen. The Danes, Worsaae tells us, made themselves masters of that country. It has been objected that the Norwegians were a wood-building people, but they could hardly build with wood in a country where wood was not to be found. The whole history of the Northmen goes to show that, like their progeny the modern Scotch, they adapted themselves to circumstances and used the materials within their reach. That analogous structures are not found in Norway is entirely wide of the question. Norway was the country of the Norwegians and they would hardly want forts to defend themselves from the Celts of Great Britain, who had neither ships nor appliances of any kind by which they could assail an enemy. It requires something more than wild beast skins, and flint arrow heads, and fleetness of foot to make a race formidable as an attacking

force. Dr. Joseph Anderson, it is true, furnishes the Celts with a *sword!* which he finds on the Govan Sarcophagus, a work of the twelfth century, and on a Roman legionary tablet, in the Antiquaries' Museum. Lord Neaves stated in an address to the antiquaries in 1859, that the great object of archæological research is to be able from a few scattered and imperfect hints to call up the entire image of the forgotten past. I remember he founded an argument from analogy with osteology remarking that from a fossil toe or tooth the whole anatomy might be given of creatures that had trod the earth many thousand years ago. Dr. Anderson has been happy in finding a fossil tooth, which takes the form of a Celtic sword. The popular notion of a Celtic sword is the *Claymore*. The form of that represented on the sarcophagus is scarcely distinguishable from the confessedly Norse weapon, and it is hardly to be supposed that the sculptor of this mortuary remain was the armourer of a Viking chief. Worsaae in his *Account of the Danes, etc.* (pp. 45, 52, 326), gives five examples of the Viking-sword, each differing from the other in the form of the pommel and guard, but all possessing the distinctive character of the Danish weapon. It may even

be doubted if an example which he calls Saxon (p. 45), be not only another variety of the Viking-sword. This has the broad two-edged blade and slender hilt peculiar to the Scandinavian weapon. One thing is certain, that a sword, which Worsaae (p. 328) calls "genuine Irish," that is I suppose, *Celtic*, bears no resemblance whatever to that on the Govan Sarcophagus. The fallen figure on the Roman tablet may be one of the Belgæ, and Cæsar says the Belgæ were Germans. Dr. Anderson's theory is like Don Quixote's helmet, excellent in every particular till tried by the "sword."

If every antiquary were of the same mental calibre as Professor Owen, we might be comparatively safe in his hands, though even then his conclusions might occasionally be open to doubt. The laws which regulate the animal economy are fixed and certain, those of archæological science—if science it can be called—varying according to the fancies of the individual investigator.

Of the people who inhabited what has been called "Celtic Scotland," we know nothing, save as "naked barbarians." Their condition is finely described in a pamphlet by Mr. French, of Bolton, the text of which is based on a mis-

shapen representation of the Forteviot sculpture formerly at Freeland House.[3] This gentleman propounded the notion that the ancient Britons, being without vessels of any kind to hold water, grouped themselves by the margins of running streams, to which they were limited by the necessities of their condition. By-and-by they made themselves vessels of rushes, which saved the awkwardness of lapping the water with their hands. This expedient, however, afforded only temporary relief; for the water, and all save the larger animalcules, escaped through the crevices. In a lucky moment, one more knowing than the rest, conceived the idea of lining the inside of the vessels with wrought clay, by which they were enabled to penetrate to the interior. Whether this archaic discoverer protected his invention by letters patent does not appear.

It is surprising to find this peculiar dogma asserting itself even in men of acknowledged scholarship and ability. Mr. W. F. Skene, LL.D., in his preface to Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, is clearly unable to curb his strong

[3] This sorry specimen of the copyist's art forms the frontispiece illustration to the first of the Spalding Club volumes on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland. Many of the stones represented in that work are exceedingly inaccurate.

Celtic predilections. "What Bower does in his account of these coronations," Mr. Skene says, "is to throw the more ancient and Celtic element into the background," &c.; the fact being that there is not a tittle of evidence to show that such an element ever existed. The root or principle of civilisation and culture certainly never grew out of the Celtic element. Walter Bower, as is well known, was the continuator of Fordun's narrative. Goodall, who in 1744 issued proposals for printing the *Scoto-Chronicon*, with Bower's continuation, says of the latter that he—

"Inserted a great number of historical passages very proper to be recorded and known, which though omitted by Fordun, are of equal authority with his own work, for Bower had diligently consulted both records and other authentic monuments."

All this Mr. Skene relates in his preface—still, however, regarding it as "unfortunate" that the statements of Bower, rather than those of Fordun, should have been adopted as the basis of Scottish history. Mr. Skene considers it essential that Fordun's narrative should be distinguished from the "interpolations of his continuators, and reproduced freed from the manipulation it has undergone at their hands;"

that is: that as the statements of Bower, and possibly those contained in certain supposed interpolations which may not be Bower's, do not fit with his ideas of Celticism, they must henceforward be discarded from the materials of history. If the ethnological views of a section of archæologists will not fit the record, the record must be altered to fit their hypothesis, and this, probably, furnishes a key to the whole undertaking. We find Mr. Cosmo Innes in like manner tampering with the text of Bede. How the circumstance that Bower lived a generation later than the originator of the narrative, whose work, with equal advantages of scholarship and access to the then existing records of events he carried forward to its completion, should render his testimony unworthy of credit, I fail to perceive.[4]

Lord Neaves once suggested that the structure of the Scottish language might be referred to the decision of some "dispassionate Celtic scholar." I fear, however, there is no such thing in nature as a dispassionate Celtic scholar.[5]

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[4] See my communication under the signature "W. B., Glasgow." *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 3, 1872. Vol. XI. pp. 97, 98.

[5] I know of one exception. This is Mr. James Rankin, F.R.A.S.,

Preconception and prejudice united to a total disregard of the rules of evidence, are the distinctive characteristics of the expounders of Celticism. In point of fact, the entire system is the outcome of national vanity, evolved out of the inner consciousness of a few, whose conclusions have been gulped down implicitly by a large number of persons, who are either unable or unwilling to examine the matter for themselves. I believe, with a writer in *Notes and Queries*, that no man of Celtic race "ever attained real greatness in literature, science, art, political or military life," only, I very much doubt, if such a thing as "pure Celtic blood" anywhere exists. We find even Lord Brougham, great man that he was, attributing his success in life to the (supposed) Celtic blood inherited from his mother, just as the eminent Chief Justice Hale entertained the belief of witchcraft; which shows that even men of genius are not always superior to the pre-

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Nautical Examiner to the Board of Trade, London. This gentleman expresses himself as follows:—

"I am a native born Highlander of Jura, Argylshire, and understand the Gaelic language; and whatever may be alleged to the contrary, I am firmly convinced that a very large Norse element pervades, both the speech and the people of the Highlands of Scotland. As to the rest, if there be any remains of the aboriginal language spoken by the first inhabitants, it must indeed be infinitesimally small."—*Notes and Queries*, 4th, s. viii. (July 8, 1871, p. 31.)

vailing delusion.[6] If he had had nothing better than Celtic blood in his veins he would never have been Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Dean Stanley too, accepting the Celticism of the Scottish Gael as a thing fixed and settled, in a brief notice of Norman Macleod, says of this great Scotchman, "In no public man of our generation has the Celtic element played a more conspicuous, in none, so beneficent a part," &c. If there be one fact better authenticated than another it is the Norwegian descent of the clan Macleod. "Even to the present day," says M. Worsaae, "many Highland clans assert that they are descended from the Danes or Norwegians." This much is at all events certain, that several clans have Scandinavian blood in their veins, as appears clearly enough from the names of Clan-Ranald (from Reginal or Ragnvald) and Clan-Dugal (from Dubhgall, "the dark strangers," the usual name of the Danes); both which clans, it is expressly stated, are descended from Somerled. *To these may be added the clan of Macleod in Skye, whose chiefs still commonly bear the pure Norwegian names of "Torquil" and "Tormod."* Pinkerton tells

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[6] See my paper Bilbo, *Notes and Queries*, Vol. VII., p. 349.

us, "The Norwegians were lords of the Highlands and Isles from the ninth century, and remain still in their progeny." Again, "The Highlanders were not indeed even subject to the Scottish Crown from the ninth to the sixteenth century, but to the Norwegian lords." We have also the authority of Lord Ellesmere, for believing that "the connection of Scandinavia with Caledonia is much older than the conquest of England by the Saxons," that is, the date of the alleged conquest. It would be difficult to find a name more palpably Norse than that of Norman Macleod.

It is worthy of note that within the Broch of Burrian, North Ronaldshay, was found an ox bone, incised with the symbols so frequently met with on the Scotch sculptured stones, and with it three oblong dice of bone, such as are found in Norwegian grave mounds of the Viking period. In this structure, Dr. Trail discovered a thin slab of clay slate stone, marked with an incised cross, and the representation of a fish, the same as is found on the sculptured monuments of the Scotch Mainland. This stone has an inscription, which consists of a species of obsolete Runic characters, not now decipherable, but which were obviously in use

among the early Northmen. When I say not decipherable, I mean simply, that in most cases the meaning cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. The language has been called, "mixed Scandinavian and Celtic," an impossible combination, which certainly never existed in fact. These inscriptions, to which has been given the name *Ogham*, are attributed to the aboriginal inhabitants of the British Islands, of whom, on better authority, we learn that they were "without letters or monuments to mark their history or changing limits." A stone containing an inscription, similar in character, was found in a moss at Lunnasting, in Shetland, and presented to the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, by my namesake, the Rev. J. C. Roger. The question to be solved is, how came these remains to be deposited in a Norwegian structure? The explanation, as I think, is not far to seek, and this is that the structure itself and all which it contained are purely Scandinavian. Worsaae, speaking of these circular stone towers, which by many, he says, are called "Danish burghs," mentions that on the little island of Mousa (Mösey), is "another Celtic [?] tower, which tradition *decidedly states to have been occupied by Norwegians*," and although tradition has been

compared to a snow ball, which accumulates as it rolls downward, there is some truth in the remark that there is never fire without smoke, and generally some foundation for every story that we hear.

We are told a good deal about the difference between Celtic and Scandinavian art, though no one has ever condescended upon a tittle of *evidence* to show that the Celts possessed the slightest knowledge of art of any kind. The late Dr. Joseph Robertson stated at a meeting of the British Association in 1859 that, "We have Irish MSS. of the seventh century, and from that time downwards. We have also silver cases enclosing them, and other examples of early Celtic art, all showing a comparatively high degree of excellence," &c. This was in reply to Colonel Jonathan Forbes who maintained the incapacity of the Celts to accomplish any work of art. By what process have the dates and Celticism of the Irish MSS. been ascertained, and who has demonstrated the origin of so-called "early Celtic art"? We are told the day has gone past for looking at the outsides of things. The subject, however, as it appears to me, is altogether so much like the Irishman's garment that it is difficult to say which is the inside and

which the out. To know where to begin is the perplexity that besets the enquirer who tries to catch up a clue in this tangled skein.

In April, 1880, I communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, through Mr. Joseph Anderson, the drawing of a bronze plate made by my late father, Mr. Charles Roger, in 1796. It represents a work of art dug up on the farm of Laws, in the parish of Monifieth. An account of this, accompanied with a woodcut representation, is printed in the "Proceedings" of the Society, Vol. II. new series, page 268. The drawing exhibits both sides of a crescent-shaped plate 4½ inches in length. One side contains a symbol of the same peculiar kind as that engraved on the leaf-shaped silver plate found at Norrie's Law. It is accompanied with an animal's head bearing a strong resemblance to that on the Norrie's Law plate, and to other representations of a similar kind found on the sculptured monuments of Scotland. The reverse side shows a crescent[7] filled with a pattern formed by diagonal lines intersecting each other

[7] Planche says that a bas-relief found at Autun (a name uncommonly Norse in construction) represents two Druids [?] in long tunics, one bearing a sceptre, the other a crescent, one of the sacred symbols. The ornaments which he calls "Druidical" very closely resemble the Scandinavian ornaments called "Celtic" found in Scotland.

at right angles, and containing in the centre of each square or lozenge within a plain border, a circular point or *stigmata*, similar in character to that met with on a seal of Holyrood Abbey, appended to a charter of the year 1141. Dr. Wilson supposes the figure on this seal to be a representation of "the original wooden church, reared by the brethren of the Holyrood Abbey, on their first clearance in the forest of Drumselch." It seems to me with greater probability to represent a structure of the twelfth century, clumsily executed and drawn in bad perspective. This seal is described by Mr. H. Laing in his first volume of "Ancient Scottish Seals." He considers the figure it contains to represent a building of the period indicated by the charter to which the seal is pendant. The reverse side of the bronze plate is crossed by an expanded V-shaped symbol with floriated ends. The other markings on it are a double reversing scroll, so common in works of art executed by the Northmen, and a species of ornament found on the lower portion of the *bauta-stone*, at Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man, and on an urn figured in the Earl of Ellesmere's Translation. In a border underneath the crescent the drawing exhibits a portion of a very legible inscription in Scandinavian runes which reads

plainly enough "MKITIL : THA," being, as I think, the remains of a very ordinary form of Norse inscription [GRI]MKITIL : THA[NA : RAIST] = Grimkitil engraved this, that is to say, made or designed the ornament. It is similar in character to an inscription in St. Molio's Cave, at Arran : NIKULOS : THANE : RAIST—Nicholas carved or engraved this, but in regard to which Dr. Wilson, confounding a carelessly formed *t* with the letter *a* renders the intermediate word *Celtic*, which he calls *ahane!*

I understand that the learned Principal of University College, Toronto, has deemed my remarks of sufficient importance to make them the subject of a communication to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in which I am told he condemns my reading and vindicates his own. This is only what might be expected.[8] On a former occasion he had the consideration to suggest that my studies in what he calls "Norse Epigraphy" had scarcely reached that indis-

[8] Since this was written I have seen Dr. Wilson's communication to the Antiquaries, but have nothing to alter or amend. The first letter of the second word in the woodcut illustration which accompanies his paper is not accurately represented. He places the slanting line which projects downwards, in the *centre* of the perpendicular line. This is near the top in the original, I made a plaster cast of the inscription in dispute with my own hand while on a visit to a friend who occupied the residence on Holy Island.

pensable stage implied in a knowledge of the Runic Alphabet, that I might as well display my knowledge of Greek by ignoring the *theta*, and writing τηεος for Θεος, as seek in Runic inscriptions for an example of *thane* graven with one sign (*tyr*) for *t*, and another (*hagi*) for *h*, instead of with the ᚦ *thurs*, &c. Still, the fact remains the same, that the intermediate word *is* the Norse *thane*, and that, notwithstanding this flourish of trumpets, "*ahane*" or "*of Hane*" is unmitigated nonsense. What I did say was simply this :—

"The inscription in St. Molio's Cave, so named, is executed in Northern Runic characters, and the language is pure Norse. 'The reading,' Dr. Wilson says, 'is sufficiently simple and unmistakeable.' It unfortunately so happens that he does mistake it. The first letter of the intermediate word, which he confounds with the initial letter of the alphabet, is an exceptional form of the letter '*t*' in the Icelandic word *thana* or *thane*, 'this.' The inscription reads, '*Nikulas thane raist*,' *i.e.*, 'Nikolas engraved this;' plainly referring, not, as Dr. Wilson imagines, to the excavation of the recess—which has all the appearance of a water-worn cavity—but to the mere incision of the characters which compose the inscription.

"Founding on the accident of name, the author of the *Prehistoric Annals* connects this supposed ghostly retreat with a Bishop of Sodor and Man, who attained to his episcopate about the year 1193, although, in my opinion, it might with equal probability be connected with the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. Rude, beyond all question, as were the habits of the men of those times, the Manx bishops of the thirteenth century,[9] if they at all resembled their brethren of the rest of Europe, had other notions of comfort than to burrow in the damp holes of an insulated rock, although the place seems not unlikely as an occasional retreat of the Norse Vikings scouring the fjords."

I transcribe my reply for the benefit of the reader, leaving him to his own conclusions:—

"So long as Dr. Wilson fails to recognise the Icelandic sign *tyr*, in the first letter of the intermediate word of the Runic inscription, carved within the watèr-worn recess on Holy Island, and confounds the Greek *eta* with the letter *H*, from its apparent resemblance to that character,

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[9] Heylyn places the episcopate of Bishop Nicholas between the years 1203 and 1217.

he has more reason to correct his own 'epigraphy' than draw attention to my deficiencies in this respect, real or supposed.

"Dr. Wilson will be pleased to observe that I am not the *author*, but the *expounder*, of the inscription. I am not bound to explain *why* the characters *tyr* and *hagi* have been used in place of the usual *thurs*. Sufficient for my purpose that I have accurately represented the fact. I answer, once for all, that I submitted a cast of this inscription to a gentleman well skilled in Northern Runic literature, who quite confirmed my reading. The letters of the intermediate word certainly are, as I read, *t, h, a, n, e*. If your correspondent, Dr. Wilson, can find in these anything other than the Norse word *thane*, he must possess a fertile imagination. I have not seen the new edition of the *Prehistoric Annals*, but do not accept Dr. Wilson's representation of the character in dispute as given in the first.

"I cannot help what Professor Munch may have said in regard to this—to me at least—apocryphal saint. I am a disciple and tributary of Professor *Fact*. So far as I am aware, Professor Munch did not say that this inscription does not contain the word *thane*." Should the reader wish to push his enquiries further, he

will find a communication on this subject from another contributor to *Notes and Queries*, contained in the number issued on July 13th, 1867. The writer of this says that "upon the whole" he is "inclined to adopt" my reading, "which," as he is pleased to state, "makes sense of it, and accords with the ordinary import and style of Runic inscriptions."

Ferguson tell us (*Northmen in Cumberland*, &c., p. 74) that "violations of grammar are not uncommon in Runes." From another source we learn that "The Vikings were a *singularly illiterate race*," so says the author of *Rude Stone Monuments*. This sufficiently accounts for the exceptional character of the inscription in St. Molio's cave, and satisfactorily disposes of Dr. Wilson's epigraphic criticism. It is not in a literate or cultured community that we look for the individuals who cut their names on trees or carve them on stones.

In 1858 being inclined to doubt Dr. Wilson's account of the "Hunterston Brooch" I removed from my copy of the *Prehistoric Annals*, the representation, and letterpress referring to this work of early art, and sent the sheets to Mr. William Kneale, of Douglas, Isle of Man, a gentleman who had given much attention to the

study of Northern Runic inscriptions, from whom I received the following reply:—

"Many thanks for the Runic inscription. I saw at once that Dr. Wilson had copied it inaccurately from the brooch. It seems to me that the following, as far as it goes, is more correct (he sets down the Runic characters) and gives the translation *Malbritha a dalk thana*, *i.e.* Melbrigd owns this brooch.

Professor Munch, when in Scotland, met with a brooch on which this inscription was engraved (see Worsaae's *Danes* and *Northmen*, page 293). The language is Norse."

We have also the opinion of Professor George Stephens, of Copenhagen, on the subject of Dr. Wilson's "epigraphy" in relation to this identical brooch. He says of this great Celtic expositor:—

"Professor Wilson's own version must be rejected also, not only because it is based on a false assumption—that the language is Celtic—but also because he handles the staves themselves too freely, and allows himself liberties that cannot be approved. Four letters he omits altogether." (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. VII. p. 462.)

My father's sketch was, with my concurrence,

submitted in the first instance to Professor George Stephens, of Copenhagen, who in a letter to Dr. Anderson wrote as follows:—"This glorious piece speaks for itself. It is clearly as genuine as it is carefully—even piously drawn—Pictish or not, it is the old Scottish make, and ornaments, which we recognise at once. It would seem to date from the early iron age, and *may* be nearly as old as the time of Christ, though of course it may be later. The runes have been cut in later, by a Viking owner, whose loot or property by plunder or marriage, it had become. The letters would seem to point to the tenth or eleventh century," &c. "From the space," he continues, "I suppose the name on the bronze was GRIMKITL, what followed we shall never know," &c. At another part of his letter, he says, "I shall be delighted to get a cast of your block for use in my Vol. 3, of which seventeen sheets are ready. But I have not yet come to 'England and Scotland.' The runes are *not* my runes, but the piece is so exceptionally costly that I wish to find a place for it."

Dr. Anderson says of the drawing at page 45 of his *Scotland in early Christian Times*, "There is one record of an object in metal which claims

attention from the singnlarity of its character. Unfortunately the thing itself is not known to exist, and all the information which we possess regarding it is derived from a drawing made in 1796, which is still preserved, and was communicated (at my request) to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Mr. J. C. Roger in 1880. The drawing was made by his father, the late Mr. Charles Roger, of Dundee, and bears a memorandum made at the time to the effect that the original was dug up at the Laws Monifieth," &c. "Its character," he continues, "is sufficiently distinct, and if we admit the drawing to be a faithful copy, we must admit the inscription to be undoubtedly Scandinavian. The care and fidelity of the drawing may be tested by a scrutiny of the manner in which the artist has rendered the style of the ornament; and no one who is familiar with the style of Celtic [?] ornament, and the peculiar treatment of its details, will fail to recognise its distinctive features."

I am thus particular, because a learned friend at the Bar suggests that the note appended to my communication in the "Proceedings," casts a doubt of authenticity. Another note affixed to my paper by the editors is placed there

apparently to discredit Ferguson's statement that the barrow opened on Beacon Hill was a *Scandinavian* interment. It is objected that the account printed in "Archæologia," which Ferguson follows does not mention "*Magical Runes.*" It says "*Emblematical figures,*" which is the same thing. Baring-Gould gives a table of Icelandic magical signs or emblematical figures, some of which might be compared with the stone markings of the Beacon Hill tomb. The latter, however, as to the manner of execution do not suggest the idea that they are very accurately represented. I take leave to differ from the editors of the "Proceedings" as to the character of the sword which, as I think, is the remains of a distinctively Viking weapon.

In the course of communication with Dr. Anderson, I suggested a doubt as to the Celticism of the ornament found at Laws, and was met with the following characteristic reply:—"One word by way of explanation. I did not refer to the *symbolism* of the plate—only to its art. But I may now say that, on the question of these, there is but one opinion possible if facts are to be the basis of opinion. These two symbols only occur in Scotland. They are not known in even *one* instance outside of that area.[?] When

they do occur in Scotland, they are in every instance associated with a character and quality of art which is Celtic.[?] They have this distinctive artistic character as the prime element in their own decoration. This is the evidence. Their *origin* will become a question for discussion when evidence relevant to infer an origin turns up. In the meantime I form no opinion on that question, but on the question of their character, I have the evidence of art, which nothing can rebut. I know nothing whatever that points to the Gothic origin of the symbols, and it will be time enough to contemplate that possibility when it has been demonstrated possible," &c.

It is impossible to conceive what evidence an expounder of Celticism would consider relevant which contradicts his preconceptions, but I drew attention to the fact that in this instance we have a Norse personal name inscribed in Northern Runic characters united to certain symbols hitherto assigned to a species of art arbitrarily called *Celtic*, and to a people vaguely termed *Celts*. I further suggested that Professor Stephens' idea that a Northman appropriated, and affixed his name to a specimen of so-called Celtic art is fanciful and incapable of proof. On the other hand, the presence of the name on the bronze

plate is an indisputable fact, and this in my judgment is "evidence relevant to infer an origin," or at least, to indicate the race among whom the symbols were in use. Professor Stephens so far confirms my reading of the runes that the remaining letters of the inscription are those of the Norse personal name "GRIMKITIL." Dr. Anderson himself goes farther and explains the inscription "GRIMKITIL THA," but ignores my suggestion as to the absent portion, shrouding his apparent objection in the vague generalities which I have just related. Like the Agnostic in Justin McCarthy's "Maid of Athens," he tells us that he knows nothing of the origin of the symbols, and at the same time informs us that there is but one opinion possible. This inscription on the bronze plate would, if perfect, be a complete refutation of so-called Celtic art. As it is, it points fatally against the assumptions of the abettors of Celticism, and distinctly to the Northmen of the Viking period, or to the Picts their predecessors of the same race, as the authors of the symbols. If it can be established that these were used by the Scandinavians, it matters not for my purpose, whether they originated with them or were derived from a foreign source.

We read in the proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries (Vol. III. p. 149) that "Mr. John Stuart exhibited drawings made by Mr. Tate of Alnwick, of figures sculptured on rocks near the site of two hill forts in Northumberland. He considered these figures bore a marked resemblance to some of those engraved in the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland,'" &c. The mirror symbol certainly occurs on a stone at Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man. Baring-Gould (see my paper to the Antiquaries Vol. II. new series, p. 273) found the z symbol carved on a stone in Iceland. An instance of the "spectacle ornament" occurs on a stone sculptured with interlaced work found in the Church of Bilton, Yorkshire. This forms the illustration to a note by Canon Raine of York, communicating its discovery to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (see Vol. XI. p. 177). This reverend contributor mentions in his letter to Dr. Stuart, a mutilated example of that ornament found on a stone at Ripon, in the same county, the most Scandinavian district of England. I have already mentioned the sceptre and crescent found in the Broch of Burrian, one of those circular stone towers which Fergusson has so conclusively demonstrated to be the work of the

Norwegians. There is still another fact to which I would direct attention, and which so far as I am aware has not before been pointed out, namely, that in the group of rock sculptures of the "Doo Cave" at East Wemyss, side by side with the figure called an "elephant" (why so called I know not) is the sign of Thor's hammer, identical in form with the fifteenth figure, so named in Baring-Gould's table of Icelandic magical signs given in his published work, London 1863. It differs from this only in that the transverse portion of the symbol from the perpendicular line towards the left hand is omitted from the rock sculpture, either by *lâches* of the artist, or that it has been effaced from the stone by lapse of time. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that this is the figure intended. It might be well to have the sculptures of the "Doo Cave" carefully re-examined, as in my opinion, it proves much. No doubt in regard to this symbol, if it be found impossible to deny that it is Thor's hammer, it will, in the usual style of Celtic reasoning, be explained that it had been placed there at some later period, &c. This is the way in which every adverse fact is explained away and stopped short of its legitimate conclusion. I have no doubt that further

proofs will yet be forthcoming to connect these symbols with the Northmen or the early Scandinavian settlers of North Britain. Dr. T. A. Wise supposes the Buddhist *dorje* to be the original of the spectacle ornament, and thinks it probable that the Buddhist priests in the early centuries of the Christian era reached Scotland, by means of Phœnician ships. I am, however, more disposed to go with him when he says, that: "The zigzag lines are probably a representation of the thunderbolt [Thor was called the God of strength and thunder] the great token of Divine Sovereignty, which was afterwards modified into the sceptre the symbol of power," and that "the spectacle ornament (the all seeing eye) is the symbol of the deity." There seems a glimmering of light in all this. The fundamental ideas of the whole system of the religion of the ancient Scandinavians, were the existence and moral attributes of one supreme God, the Allfader; the immortality of the soul; and a future state of retribution, but on this was grafted a complicated system of mythology. This existed among the Northmen before they peopled Iceland and still lingers in the magical signs to which I have referred. No doubt, as Dr. Wise suggests, these

were remotely derived from the Asiatic cradle of Odin and his followers, though not, as I think, in the way he supposes. It is probable that some allegorical interpretation of these mythic histories prevailed among the native priesthood of Scotland of Scandinavian descent. Mystical signs were believed by the unlettered Scandinavians to contain something supernatural, and spells, we are told, were in frequent use graven on the prows of their ships, the handles of their swords, or worn like an amulet on the body. Examples of these are probably found in the silver chains of circular double links to some of which is affixed a penannular terminal ornament graven with the z symbol and spectacle ornament and other signs so frequently found on the bauta-stones of North Britain. Five of these charms found in Scotland are in the Museum of the Edinburgh Antiquaries. They were discovered, one in 1809 in excavating the Caledonian Canal, near the north end of Loch Ness; another in 1864, at Parkhill, Aberdeenshire; a third in the parish of Crawfordjohn, Lanarkshire; a fourth was lately found at Hordwell, Berwickshire; and a fifth at Haddington. That found at Crawfordjohn bears the zigzag lines common to works of art of the twelfth century. Three double discs of silver-

plated bronze; examples of the spectacle ornament, probably used as spells or charms by the Scandinavians, were found in 1878 in a viking grave at Ballinaby in Islay. One of these is figured in Vol. XIV. of the Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries, p. 66, and presents the ornamentation of the twelfth century. It is not improbable that the bronze plate found at Laws had also been used for the like purpose, as also the leaf-shaped plate with the peculiar symbol found in the Norries Law tomb. Perhaps too the ox-bone and incised symbols found in the Broch of Burrian. I have said that the Runic inscription contained on the plate found at Laws points fatally against the assumption that the art is Celtic. The same is true of the Hunterston brooch, about which so much nonsense has been written, and which in all its details is so palpably Scandinavian. The same of the brooch dug up in North Trondheim in Norway, along with two bowl-shaped brooches of the Viking period, confessedly Norwegian; of the brooch found at Rogart in 1868, and of that found in Mull. The same of the Tara brooch, and of the brooch of bronze found in a viking grave in Westray. In spite of "typical forms" and "the absence of hesitation among Scandinavian archæologists"

and of "the evidence of art which nothing can rebut," I venture to affirm that these brooches, one and all, with every example of kindred type, are in the highest degree of moral certainty the work of Norwegian artists; at least it is for the expounders of Celticism to *prove* the contrary, seeing how much is against their hypothesis *à priori*. It is only reasonable to believe that works of art, identical with other works of art, and united with Norse inscriptions in Northern Runic characters are *primâ facie* Scandinavian. There need be no mystical cant on a very plain subject. Whether the Northmen derived their knowledge of art from *Celtic* or from *Roman* models may be safely left to the judgment of the reader. With the Woodchester pavement before him it is not difficult to imagine which way the balance will incline.[10]

The stone which formerly stood in the churchyard of Kilbar, in the island of Barra, has been pronounced *ex cathedra*, as to its Runic inscription, which no one disputes, "unequivocally

[10] The general design of the Roman mosaic pavement found at Woodchester is a circular area of 25 feet in diameter. This is surrounded by a border of interlaced work, within which are representations of various beasts (originally twelve in number), among these are figures of a gryphon, a bear, a leopard, a stag, a tigress, a dog, and an elephant.

Scandinavian," and as to its art, "*unequivocally Celtic*," which I must be permitted to doubt. The writer of the remarks to which I have referred will pardon my incredulity in a matter to him so very plain, and kindly vouchsafe what Mr. Cosmo Innes would have called the "real evidence." "The evidence of art" is no evidence at all, because the Celticism of the art with which this is compared has not been demonstrated. We must find the touchstone by which the test itself is to be tried. As the matter stands, it is simply another form of Descartes' well known sophism, *cogito ergo sum*. "No stone monument in Scandinavia," we are told, "bears either a cross of this form or a mingled decoration of interlaced work, spirals, and fret work of this special character." This is simply splitting hairs and creating differences out of nothing. No argument whatever can be founded upon mere arrangement of details. The spiral, in every variety of form, is notoriously a Scandinavian ornament,[11] and the presence of this alone, on the ground of art, irrespective of other evidence, determines the question. There are several Manx sculptures, exceptional in character, which we know were set up by the Norwegians, counterparts of which

[11] Teste the sculptured monuments of the Isle of Man.

are not to be found in Scandinavia. Be that as it may, there is abundant evidence to show that this style of art was known to the Northmen who had settled in the British Islands. Testimony the most direct and circumstantial is found on the monumental crosses of the Isle of Man. "No other of the Western islands," M. Worsaae says, "affords so many and such incontestible proofs of its having once had a very widespread Norwegian or Scandinavian population, who spoke their own language, and who, through a long series of years, must have been the predominant race." We know from the inscription on a stone at Kirk Andreas that "*Gaut Björnsön* made it." From another at Kirkmichael, that "Gaut made this and all on Man." Whether all that "were at that time on Man," or at any other time is of no consequence. Gaut's surname, M. Worsaae says, "proves his Norwegian or Scandinavian descent." So far there is nothing to object. It is, however, evident from what follows, that the Danish antiquary has been too ready to accept, not only the facts of Celtic expositors, but also the medium through which they viewed them. When he tells us that the Norwegians imitated and altered the Scotch models (he uses the term "Scotch" in the sense of *Celtic*), it is plain he is

giving a deliverance which he has no means of knowing to be true. When it shall be demonstrated that the Scotch sculptured stones are *Celtic*, it will be time enough to consider the Norwegians of Man as copyists of Celtic art. Meanwhile, it is self-evident that the Runic crosses of Man were carved and set up by Norwegian artists, and we know of no race but the Northmen who set up Bauta-stones. The inference from this is, that the sculptors of the stones found in Scotland were Scandinavian. We know that the sons of Thor and Odin, were commanded as a sacred duty to erect an upright stone to the memory of their warrior-dead. This was placed on the sepulchral mound, or near to it. M. Worsaae infers from such names as "Neaki," "Fjak," and "Jab-r," found on the Kirk Braddan stone, that these are Gaelic, that is, Celtic names; and again, of a stone at Kirkmichael, that it "has a Norwegian inscription with purely Gaelic names." This inscription reads "Mal Lumkun erected this cross to his foster-father, Malmor." *Necki, Neck* or *Nicken* is the water spirit of the Northmen, used here as a proper name. *Fiach*, and *Faichney* are sea-borne names found on the Moray coast, no doubt imported thither by the Scandinavians.

Compare the German name *Fiake.* It is found in the Irish annals in the form of *Fiac,* but by the theory which I advocate, these are presumably Gothic, and its presence there proves not, as I think, the Celticism of the names in the Manx inscriptions, but rather the Gothic origin of the Irish annals. The name Jobson is an east coast Forfarshire name of frequent occurrence, called by the old natives of the district *Jab*son. The *r* final in the Norse name *Jab-r* is no part of the name, but merely the sign of the nominative case. It is much to be regretted that in his treatment of the subject of Danish influence in Scotland M. Worsaae has allowed himself to be cajoled into the acceptance of the "Prehistoric" hypothesis and its glaring absurdities.

If "Mal Lumkun," means Malcolm, as the author of the *Prehistoric Annals* seems to imply, the fact that this name is found in a Norse Runic inscription, does not, as I think, logically suggest the fusion of the Scandinavian and Celtic races, but obviously rather that the personal name Malcolm is Norwegian. In regard to the other name "Malmor," would M. Worsaae be surprised to learn that Malmor or Melmor,[12] is

[12] Ferguson in his *Northmen* gives a long list of names taken from the Land name-book of Iceland. This name is among them.

a proper name belonging to that dialect of the Celtic called the Icelandic or Old Norse? Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, says the Manx stones offer many instances of Celtic names borne by Scandinavians, that, "In ancient times, many Icelanders had names originally Celtic." I utterly reject both these statements. The *onus probandi* rests with the person asserting. It may be laid down as a rule from which there is no exception, that every name found in a Northern Runic inscription is pure Norse. To suppose otherwise is to contradict common sense. What we are told to believe is *Celtic art*, occurs on the bronze plaque found at Œland, in Sweden (fig. 11 page 58, Vol. II. second series, of the Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries.) This is an example of Scandinavian art certainly not earlier than the twelfth century. It exhibits a figure clad in a species of mail or rather jupon, the head of which is cased in a helmet of *interlaced knot work*, disposed like the ornament frequently found on the handle of the old Highland dirk. This is surmounted by an animal of the boar kind in the form of a crest. Crests were long in use before the hereditary bearing of coat armour. These do not, however, appear to have been considered as in any way connected

with family arms till about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The mailed figure of the plaque grasps with one hand an inverted spear, and with the other a short sword of the conventional viking-form, of which so many examples are everywhere figured. If Celtic art be not the *reductio ad absurdum* we have here the anomalous combination of a *Celtic* helmet and a *Norse* sword!

Again of the stone at Aberlemno M. Worsaae informs us that this is "*Scotch*" (I presume he means Celtic) "and *not* Scandinavian." Let us examine the grounds of this judgment. It is not that the Northmen did not erect *bauta-stones*, for this was enjoined by Odin. Not that the figures of this sculpture differ essentially from those of the monolithic remains of the Norwegians in Man, the resemblance being conceded, nor can it be affirmed that Runic, or what we are now told to call interlaced knot work, was unknown to the Northmen, or that the sculptures confessedly executed by them do not abundantly exhibit the like nondescript and fantastic monstrosities which are found on this monument. Neither can it be doubted that the Norsemen were acquainted with the use of mystic symbols. The Danish helmet had the nasal, in Scandi-

navian called *nef-biorg*. The mounted figures on the Aberlemno sculpture exhibit this peculiarity. The shields on this and some of the other sculptures, as on the slab built into the wall of the churchyard of Menmuir are circular. Planché tells us that Danish shields were of two sorts *circular* and *lunated*. The expression "moony shields" occurs in the Lodbroka-quida. In the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, is an ancient group of figures carved in ivory in which appears a figure on horseback, holding a crescent-shaped shield. What then remains to M. Worsaae on which to plant his dictum? The style or character of the execution I presume. The character as compared with what; With the monuments of the Celtae? Where are these? What *is* Celtic art, and how or by whom has the knowledge of this been attained? "The Celts" Pinkerton tells us, "had no monuments any more than the Fins, or savage Africans or Americans. Thomson goes farther. He says: "Celtiberia would imply the borders of the Iberus, without any allusion to Celts, who were probably never considered as a distinct nation any more than the Tartars." Fergusson says the dragon ornament[13] on the side of the cross of the Aber-

[13] The dragon with the Goths or Scythians was the emblem of fire.

lemno stone, looks more like a Scandinavian ornament than anything that can claim an origin farther east.

Take, as another example, the Invergowrie sculpture. What better evidence of Scandinavian art could possibly be afforded than the dragon ornament of this stone? What more Scandinavian than the dalmatica or vestment of the three figures it contains, composed of the quilted linen or cloth in use among the Northmen? and what better evidence of twelfth century art than the notched and joggled border which surrounds three sides of this stone? This peculiarly Danish quilted work is conspicuously displayed on the Forteviot sculpture, the portion of a Norman arch of the twelfth century found in the bed of the May, and now in the Museum of the Antiquaries at Edinburgh.[14] By the laws of Gula, established, it is said, by Hakon the Good in 963, he who possessed twenty-four marks was obliged to have "a double red shield, a helmet, a coat of mail or a *panzar*, that is, a tunic of quilted linen or cloth," &c. On each shoulder of two of the figures contained on the Invergowrie stone occurs a badge in the manner of a

[14] Formerly at Freeland House, the seat of Lord Ruthven.

cruciform circle, a symbol of religious significance frequently found on the sculptured rocks of Sweden. If interlaced knot-work be the native Celtic art of North Britain, it is clear, on the evidence of this art which we are told "nothing can rebut," that Celtic influences had penetrated to Abyssinia! How otherwise are we to explain the ornaments found on the MS. Gospels brought thence by Captain Mc Inroy?[15] This is written in the *Geez* or old *Ethiopic* language and character. The date of this MS. was placed by David Laing and the Rev. J. E. Brown *not later* than the fourteenth century. It is decorated in the style of art which modern expositors of the "pre-historic" type delight to call *Celtic*, and shows that to the accomplishments ascribed by the learned Principal of University College, Toronto, to the Celtic race,[16] they added an acquaintance with a dialect of the ancient Aramaic tongue. It would be curious to learn

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[15] This was brought from Abyssinia by Captain Charles Mc Inroy, and presented to the Museum. It is figured and described at page 52, Vol. VIII. of the "Proceedings."

[16] "It cannot be doubted that, in so far as the Celtic race had any literary acquirements, they must have been familiarised both with the Northern language and runes."—Pre-historic Annals, Ed, 1851, p. 528. A few such commentators as Mr. Kemble would put an end to the farce of Celto-Norse inscriptions.

whether, in the view of the "pre-historic" antiquary, Abyssinia, at some period of its history, may not have been peopled by the aborigines of North Britain, or if the Aramaic, like the Icelandic or old Norse, be not a dialect of the Celtic tongue! I offer this as a suggestion. Every new view has three stages; first ridicule, then opposition, and, last of all, adoption.

It has always appeared to me that an absurdly fanciful date is usually assigned to Scotch archaic remains, remote far beyond the actual chronology of the events to which they relate. This leads me to note some facts in regard to the Govan sarcophagus, the discovery of which I communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1854. These are that this remain had been deposited in 1762, in a hollow, close to the former entrance to the churchyard, where it was accidentally disinterred by the sexton in 1854. An opportunity having unexpectedly presented itself, I made it my business to ascertain that, previous to 1762, the stone coffin known as the "Govan sarcophagus," with two others, one similarly ornamented with figures of animals and interlaced knot work, another containing the symbol of the Cross carved on its cover, rested under semicircular arches formed within the substance of

the church wall, inside the original structure of Govan church. The old church of Govan, I learned on the same authority, was a structure of the Norman period, with its pillars, arches and doorways profusely enriched with Romanesque carvings and interlaced knot work, such as by common consent has been assigned to the early part of the twelfth century. At the time of its removal it had so completely fallen to decay, that its replacement by a modern structure had become a necessity. The recumbent monuments vulgarly known as "sow-backed stones" were studded at intervals round the ancient edifice. Two of them were placed in juxtaposition, and between them an upright cross, "covered with Runic knot work, with the limbs joined together by a circle." The other coffins to which I have referred were carted away with the *débris* from the old church,[17] and

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[17] I am indebted for these facts to the late Mr. Robert Rowan, whom I met with accidentally in 1857, while on a visit to the Isle of Man. At the time I made his acquaintance he was seventy-eight years of age, but with memory unimpaired. He was a native of Govan, or had passed his boyhood in the parish. He informed me that his maternal grandfather, who survived till my informant had attained his twenty-first year, was the contractor who removed the old church of Govan 1762, and from whose lips he received a circumstantial account of the ancient edifice, and the facts here recorded. Rowan had been trained as a draftsman in the office of a builder in Glasgow, and was

to the fact, that that which now remains was tumbled into a hole to help in levelling the surface, we owe the preservation of this interesting piece of mediæval sculpture. It is worthy of note that a recumbent monument at Luss, on the bank of Loch Lomond, of the same type and character as those found at Govan, is sculptured with the interlaced Norman arch or intersecting arcade of the twelfth century. The coffin dug up at Govan presents the common style of art found on the more elaborate sculptured stones on the east coast of Scotland, but without the symbols. In character and execution it closely resembles the Norman font at Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire, a work of the twelfth century, figured at page 82 of Rickman's Styles of Architecture, and it has the notched and joggled ornament peculiar to the architectural adornment of that period. In one respect the Govan sarcophagus is unique; it has the sculptor's mason mark incised on the hind quarter of the horse which supports the mounted figure. This consists of the Roman letter A,

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conversant with the various styles of mediæval architecture. The present church of Govan is not that built in 1762 on the site of the Norman structure, but an entirely modern erection, after the design of the church of Stratford-upon-Avon.

formed like that character in the ancient monkish capital writing, of which Lord Ellesmere in his Translation gives an example taken from the year 1128. This character, identical in form, occurs among the mason-marks of Dryburgh Abbey given by the late Dr. J. A. Smith. (See his paper, "Proceedings of the Antiquaries," Vol. IV. p. 548). In view of these facts it is perhaps unnecessary to add that the idea that this letter had been carved upon the coffin when it had been formerly disturbed is hardly deserving of serious refutation. The editor of the Spalding Club volume on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland has noted the fact that, "about the centre of the bottom, and towards the foot, is a circular opening, *such as occurs in stone coffins of more modern date!*" More modern as regards what? How strange it did not occur to him to suppose that the coffin *is* of more modern date; that is, more modern in relation to the hypothetical era which he fancifully assigns to it. We have the same kind of circular reasoning by the same writer in regard to the *Shandwick Stone.* There is no fact or event to mark its epoch or history, yet we are gravely told the representation of the "Chalice and Host," which it contains, "*are quite of the same fashion as*

those found on Christian sepulchral monuments in England of a long posterior date." What strange perversion! Posterior to what date? Ordinary intellects, unsharpened by the necessity of proving that black is white, in the absence of other evidence, would argue from identity of resemblance to identity of date. Could stronger evidence be afforded of fixed determination to subordinate every fact to a particular hypothesis. If such reasoning as this be admissible, anything may be connected with anything—the "Highland Rüners" with the Bow Street runners, whose function it was to bring up criminals when ripe for a capital conviction.

John Henry Parker says that numerous stone coffins exist which appear to be as old as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They are formed of a single block of stone hollowed out to receive the body, with a small circular cavity to fit the head, that they generally contain one or more small holes in the bottom. These apertures are placed there to permit the escape of decomposing matter. It will be seen Mr. Parker limits the era of stone coffins to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It can be shown that in not a few instances of stone coffins of the twelfth century,

the cavity for the head is *not* found. The Govan sarcophagus is itself a notable example. The most ancient extant forms of the name Govan, as given in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, are *Guuen* and *Guuan*. These seem to contain the Gothic word *gauw* or *gow*, and Danish definite article *en*, which is always added as a post-fix. *Gow* meant primarily, a district or region. It became the Latin *govia*, in the names of places bordering on streams of water, which is the position of this parish in relation to the river Clyde. The name Govan has therefore no verbal connection with Celts or Celticism. On the contrary, as indicating a decidedly Scandinavian population in and around this place, we find incidental reference to such names as "*Help* the Bishop's Clerk," "Patrick, called *Floker*," "William *Hauk*," "William de *Kirkintulloch*," &c., all of whom are obviously either Northmen or persons of Northern extraction.

The author of the *Prehistoric Annals*, who leaves the trail of the Celt and his language on everything he touches, seizes upon the Lewis Chessmen figured in the Earl of Ellesmere's Translation, and claims them as Celtic. They exhibit the zigzag marking and interlaced knot work, so common in works of art of the twelfth

century. Sir F. Madden ascribes them to the Northmen, and their execution to the middle of that century. To this, of course, Dr. Wilson takes exception. Romanesque work, he objects was never yet traced to a Northern source, and in the same breath tells us of St. Magnus Cathedral, a Norman structure founded by a Norwegian Jarl. The source of Romanesque or debased Roman art, as its name imports, was Imperial Rome, but its introduction into England and Scotland, and other parts of Western Europe, was without doubt by the Romish priesthood, who were the natural successors of the priests of Pagan Rome. This was a result of what has been called the "confluence of nations," a general movement throughout Christendom which culminated in the twelfth century, when the Roman Pontiff of that day set his foot in the stirrup and rode rough-shod over the liberties of Europe. The Roman Church in Scotland adapted her ceremonial to the humour of the people with whom she had to deal, and combined with her religious instruction the ceremonial and superstitions of the Northern settlers whom she found there at her advent. Like the Jesuits of the Celestial Empire, she scrupled not to adjust the matter between Christ and Baal.

Forbes speaking of this time, says "There was such an humour in the Nation for building of Cathedrals, Monasteries, and Religious houses," that "from the year 1100, the voice of the Gospel could not be heard for the noise of hammers and trowels." At that time "religion was regarded as an art, taught as a mystery, and practised as a trade." "The emissaries of Rome," we are told, "having gained upon the easy mind of King David, a Legate from Pope Innocent II. was received in Scotland in the year 1138, with a great deal of ceremony and respect; after which time Prelates began to get up their heads among us, and drive us to superstition and idolatry." Every circumstance goes to prove that at this period the people of Scotland were essentially Scandinavian, and so it may reasonably be presumed were the native priesthood—I mean native-born of Norse descent, who no doubt derived their knowledge of art from the priests and other emissaries of the Roman Pontiff who came to settle in the British Islands. Who were the actual craftsmen or sculptors, whether monks or members of Freemason guilds, I do not pretend to say. It is not essential to my purpose. One thing is certain, that many of the masons, and most of

their marks, were undoubtedly Scandinavian. If anyone doubts this, let him examine the illustrations to the paper on mason-marks by the late Dr. J. A. Smith, printed at page 548, Vol. IV. of the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In most, or in very many instances, these highly ornate monoliths are found in some sort of connection with ancient ecclesiastical edifices or their former sites; and, architecturally considered, are in general nothing more than the reflex of the structures which they originally surrounded. The same idea seems to have occurred to the writer of the Statistical Account of the Parish of Logierait, who regards them as "rude samples of the Popish rage for sculpture, being always found in connection with the ruins of chapels." In this parish are evident traces of a Northern population, the name itself, *Logierait*, being the *Lagbierget* or Law-mount of the ancient Scandinavians. Cosmo Innes says of the sculptured stones, "we can nearly limit their production to the eighth and ninth centuries," which is probably as authentic as his chronological estimate of the MS. which relates to the Abbey of Deir. If we except what is Roman, and the circular stone towers erected by the Norwegians, there is nothing in the British

islands of an architectural character of a date anterior to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. Sir C. Anderson in his *Eight Weeks Journal in Norway*, says, "It is probable that buildings attributed to the Saxons, on the eastern side of England, are the works of the Scandinavians." Another Celtic bugbear which has puzzled and bewildered the antiquary is the "Round Tower." The more remarkable Scotch examples are those of Egilsay, Brechin, and Abernethy. The last two have been measured and figured and described times without number. The Church and tower of Egilsay are figured in Hibbert in a complete form, and are exhibited in a ruined state in Dr. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. There are, I believe, seventy-six of these towers known to exist in Ireland. Parker says, "In some parts of the kingdom circular church towers are to be found; these have been sometimes assumed to be of very high antiquity, but the character of their architecture shows that they belong to the Norman and early English styles." He considers the round towers found in some churchyards in Ireland, monumental erections. The age of these buildings, he says, "is undetermined, and is likely to remain so." According to another

writer, "the whole period of this type of round tower structure lies between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the twelfth century." I do not think there need be much difficulty in assigning all the Scotch examples mentioned, to a period certainly not more remote than the beginning of the twelfth century, that is, from the year 1100 downwards.[18] The architectural decoration of the Brechin tower is conclusive on this point. The use or purpose of these erections, as shown in the palpably Scandinavian example of Egilsay, is plainly that of church towers, from which the other portions of the structure have been removed. The Brechin tower stands in the churchyard. One of the figures in relief on the doorway of this example bears a pastoral staff of the form, we are told, "peculiar to the early Celtic church," and, as I think, also peculiar to an Egyptian mummy-case in the Antiquaries Museum. I shall be glad to know where staves of the early Celtic church are to be found. I have never met with one, and do not know where to look for them. The origin of the pastoral staff has, with much

[18] I confess I hardly appreciate Sir G. Scott's difficulty in assigning the tower of St. Regulus to the twelfth century. We seem to descend to the bottom of a well to bring up what is lying on the surface.

probability, been traced to the lituus of the priesthood of Pagan Rome, who probably derived it mediately through the Greeks from the ancient Egyptians.

Cosmo Innes in a postscript to his *Scotland in the Middle Ages* refers to the MS. of the Gospels discovered in the library at Cambridge, which purports to have belonged to the Abbey of Deir in Buchan. "The discovery of this book," he says, "sets the whole discussion which excited the Scotch Antiquaries of the last century on an entirely new footing," and so, as I think, do the MS. Gospels, with *Celtic knot-work* found in Abyssinia. On the margins and blank vellum of the Book of Deir, Professor Innes informs us, are entries of high antiquity, reaching to a period of history which neither charter nor chronicle among us touches, and of which we have hitherto had only a few glimpses from the older lives of the saints. The entries, he says, are in a Celtic dialect and run as follows :—"Columkille and Drostan, son of Cosgrech, his disciple, came from Hy, and Bede, a Pict, was then Mormaer of Buchan," &c. An imperfect note of benefactions, we are told, gives the names "Colban, Mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait his married wife, and

the 'Clan Magan:'" In this MS. occur such names as "Garnait, son of Cannoc," "Eta daughter of Gillemichel," "Donead son of Mac Bead," "Malbrigte son of Chathail," "Malcoluim son of Culeon," "Culii," "Giric," "Raudre," &c. Two charters of Marjory, Countess of Buchan, are witnessed by "Magnus, son of Earl Colban, and Adam, son of Earl Fergus," none of all which names are other than Gothic, Danish or Norwegian. Melbrigd was the name of the Norwegian owner of the "Hunterston Brooch." It is also found in the Pictish Chronicle, A.D. 965. Worsaae at page 260 of his *Danes and Norwegians*, &c., gives an account of a person called "Jarl Melbrigd." A form of the name Malcolm occurs on the Kirkmichael stone, in Man. Culeon and Culii are explained by the Norse personal name *Koli* and Danish definite article *en*, Giric, by *Kærik*, and Raudre by *Raudr*. Gillemichel by the names *Göll* and *Mikell*. With Drostan compare the Teutonic name Droosten. Celtic expositors find this on the St. Vigeans stone. Mr. Ralph Carr, however, explains that the inscription is Scoto-Saxon, and the characters mediæval Romanesque. The language, he says, belongs to a late period. He reads the inscription: "Kin stone (family monu-

ment) put over honoured kith." If this be the correct reading (which there seems little reason to doubt) the Drostans and Ferguses of the Celtic expositors resolve themselves into figment. Bede is the name of the Saxon historian, and the Danish word to pray. Colben is identical with the Norwegian personal name *Kolbein*. In the twelth century Kolbein Ruga had a settlement in the isle of Wire (Vigr) Orkney. The name "Tholf *Kolbain*son" is found in a Runic inscription carved on the Norwegian structure of Maeshowe. Compare the topographical names, *Colbaynistun*, Lanarkshire, *Kollieben* hill in Sutherland, and *Kolbein*stad in Iceland. *Garnait* is cognate with the Anglo-Norse Lancashire surname Garnet. Aberdover, another name found in the MS., is *Aber*, an old Gothic word, cognate with the German Ober, Über, over or beyond. *Dover*, identical with the Norwegian town *Dovre*, and mountain range called Dovre feld. There is *Dover*, in Jutland, and *Dover* on the English coast, derived from the Scandinavian. "Mac, Map or Mab," is quoted as the Gaelic, Cymric and Cornish word for *son*. With equal propriety might be cited as Cymric and Celtic the reputed Welsh word *jarll*, a noble or earl, which is Gothic and Scandinavian. Cer-

tainly the Celticism of the Book of Deir cannot be inferred from the patronymic prefix *Mac*, placed before several of the names which it contains. This word in the sense of son was used by the Danes and Northmen. "Fergus *Mac* Olaf," and "Sytrig *Mac* Olave" were respectively Norwegian and Danish Kings of Dublin. "*Mac*-mannus or Magnusön," a Norwegian jarl, was chosen Governor of Man. Among four Danish prelates next in succession to St. Brandon was one in 1077, called "Aumond *Mac* Olive." The term is found prefixed to such obviously Scandinavian names as *Mac* Swein, *Mac* Vicar, *Mac* Connel, *Mac* Arkil, *Mac* Gill, *Mac* Duff, *Mac* Cormack, *Mac* Luckie, *Mac* Michael, *Mac* Otter, *Mac* Finn, and a host of others, in which are found the Norse personal names, Sveinn, Vikar, Konall, Arnkell, Göll, Duf-r, Kormac, Loki, Mikell, Ottar, and Finn-r. *Mac*, a son, is the Gothic *Maug*, Teutonic *Mag Mac*, Su-Gothic and Icelandic *Make*, Danish *Mage*, Anglo-Saxon *Mæg*, *Mecg*, son, kinsman; and correlative *Mægð*, tribe, kindred, generation. Gothic *Mæg*, a relation, *Magi*, an embryo; Saxon *Mægth*, progeny, race, tribe; Gothic *Maga*, to beget. What Beza in his translation renders *puer* is

given in the Gothic version *Magus*. In the old Dutch language *Maegh*, *Mage*, "ofte bloedt vriendt," means kindred, parentage, allies, or consanguinity. *Maeg-sibbe* in that language signifies kinsmen or allies; cognate with this is the lowland Scotch word *sib*, akin, related. Cosmo Innes says, in his *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, that "Maormor—the great maor—is an ancient title among the Celts, found in misty and hardly historical Irish annals, but now made Scotch history by the Book of Deir." I think this is found in the annals of Ulster, but need scarcely add that no argument in favour of Celticism can be drawn from any name or circumstance therein recorded. Ulster was one of three out of four Irish provinces which were purely Norwegian. Ireland was completely overrun by the Norwegians who "were powerful enough to maintain their language, and the rest of their Scandinavian characteristics." "Ancient Irish manuscripts," we are told, "contain proofs not only of the peculiar language, but also of the peculiar writing of the Norwegians, or runes, which in Irish were called 'Ogham na Loochlannach,' or 'Gallogham' (the Northman's or strangers' ogham.") Nor is there much reason to doubt that the Irish priests who visited

Iceland in the early centuries of our era, were some of the descendants of the earliest Scandinavian settlers. It is impossible to conceive that priests of the race of the Irish Celtæ or aborigines could find their way through the Northern ocean to Iceland. *Mar*, *mer*, *moer*, *meir*, in the Gothic tongue, means much or great, renowned, celebrated, noble. Thomson, in his *Etymons of English Words*, says: "The North American savages nearest to Europe call their great chieftains Saga*more*, which is almost purely Gothic." Professor Innes thinks there is little doubt the Colbens and Ferguses, old Mormaers of Buchan, changed their style to Earl, which, from the facts narrated, is abundantly evident, but it is inconceivable that a Celtic Chief would exchange his native style for a foreign title, if indeed a "Celtic Chief" be not a contradiction in terms. The name of the Abbey, according to the legend, was given by "Columcille" when he parted from his friend the mythical "Drostan," whensoever that may have been. It is not however difficult to believe that this name like those of its surroundings was imposed by the Northmen. "Deir" or "Deer," is found in *Dear*oby, the old name of Derby, *Deerness*, in Orkney, *Dere*ham in Norfolk, and

Dearham in the North of England. The name *Buchan* and its "*Buller*" are pure Norse. (Bukk-r Norse personal name, and *han ham heim*, an abode). It occurs in Norway in the form of *Buckan*. The phenomenon called the "*Buller*" is explained by the Swedish *buller*, a tumult, from Old Norse *buldra* to roar, whence probably the name of those portions of detached rock called "boulders" found in the water-courses of the mountain torrent. "Buller" in the vernacular, means any big round lump of stone. The circular basin that forms the "Buller," Boswell tells us, is called by the country people the *Pot*. Old Norse *pott-r*, any basin shaped hollow or cavity. Near to this is a rock, inhabited by sea fowl, called *dunbui*. Goth. Icel. *dun*. a rock or hill, and Norse personal name *Bui*. The "MS," Cosmo Innes says, "Whether judged from the handwriting or its contents, appears to be of the tenth century." In another place he says "We cannot assert that it is identical with the Scotch Gælic, for we have no other Scotch Gælic writing within many centuries of its date; yet it was certainly written at Deir," &c. According to a more recent commentator "The form of the writing is that which is common to Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the letters

being an adaptation of the Roman minuscule characters," that it is in "the vernacular Gælic of the period," whatever that may mean. The initial letters of paragraphs, as if to contradict its reputed Celticism, are in peculiarly Scandinavian fashion "designed in *fanciful dragonesque forms*. At the end of the book is a rubric giving direction to the officiating priest. Professor Westwood, on the evidence of its "paleographic peculiarities," fixes the date not later than the ninth century, but we are not told where he found the MSS. containing the peculiarities in question with which he compared the Book of Deir, or by what evidence the chronological epoch of the touch-stones has been tested. "The art is poor," we are told, "in comparison with Irish manuscripts of contemporary date." Here again is the everlasting circular reasoning —the perpetual movement of the ball in the hat, revolving and returning to the same point. If the question is to be determined by an appeal to the primitive speech of the aboriginal Celtæ, it is plain that that language in its native purity must first be found. Meg Dodd's prescription was "first catch the hare and then cook it." Pinkerton, the most scholarly antiquary of his age pointed out long ago that the Gælic language

is only an obsolete form of the ancient Gothic, and that so far from being a pure speech it is the most corrupt in the world. The same eminent authority says of the language called Welsh, that even in its most ancient remains it is full of Danish and English words. As to the opinion of "the great philologers of modern times" that "the Celtic and Teutonic are cognate languages," there is just this to be said, that unless, contrary to all history and probability, it can be shown, (which it obviously cannot), that the languages called Celtic are the several dialects of an unmixed native or purely primeval speech, and that the foundation of these is not, as many scholars have supposed, merely the obsolete linguistic remains of the early Teutonic races who dispossessed the aborigines, no argument whatever can be based on the fact of resemblance; because in the case supposed, save on the one side, their Latin, Gaulish, and English corruptions, the dialects of the British isles, living and extinct, Cornish, English, Scotch, Welch, Gælic, Manx, must remotely, root and branch, one and all be one and the same. Dr. W. F. Skene has been heralded as "perhaps the highest authority on this subject." No one disputes Dr. Skene's acquaintance with the Erse

or Gælic any more than Professor Blackie's acquaintance with Greek, but I should hardly attach more importance to his dictum regarding the ethnology of the Highland or Lowland Scotch, than to the extra-historic speculations of his contemporary concerning the race of the ancient Greeks. It has been stated as the popular belief that "the fair or blonde race in the British Isles denotes only a Teutonic ancestry, and that the dark races are the Celts." Hardly anyone, I think, supposes that every individual of the Teutonic race was blonde or fair or red haired. On the contrary, we know that many of the Danes and Northmen were black, and the Danes were not Celts. "Nothing" Dr. G. Campbell says, "is so little certain as the source and permanency of human colour." Mr. Hyde Clarke, remarking on the utterances of Professor Huxley, says that although the latter "had laid down his statements as established by the concurrence of men of science, there was very little [he might have said *nothing*] capable of proof." We cannot, therefore, be too careful how we admit mere dogma into the category of accepted fact. "Evidence," Professor Huxley says, "may be adduced to show that the language spoken by both these types of people in Britain (the dark

and the blonde), at and before the Roman conquest, was exclusively Celtic." This evidence, he tells us, "is furnished by the statements of Cæsar," and "by the testimony of ancient monuments and local names." As a question of fact Cæsar makes no such statement, either directly, or by implication. In regard to the monuments, inscriptions called "Ogham," and the like, wherever it has been possible to bring these to the test of competent scholarship, such have invariably proved to be Gothic or Teutonic. The topography of the West of Scotland and the Isles and indeed generally throughout the whole extent of North Britain, it is patent to anyone at all versed in the subject, is palpably Norse. In the view of Professor Huxley: "The Saxon invaders brought with them their Teutonic dialects, and these to a great extent supplanted the pre-existing Celtic." We learn on better authority, that of the late J. M. Kemble, that "the received accounts of the Saxon immigration, and subsequent fortunes and ultimate settlement, are devoid of historical truth in every detail." It is nearly certain that the displacement of the original British began long before, and continued without intermission on to and beyond the period of Roman occupation. Professor Huxley told

his auditory he could drive a waggon from the dikes of Holland to the wall of China, without meeting with a single interruption; which was met by the retort of the *Saturday Reviewer*, that he could drive his pen from beginning to end through every line of Professor Huxley's lecture without meeting with a single *fact*.

Bodichon divides the Celts into Gælic, Belgic, and Cymbric, while Cæsar states distinctly that the Belgæ were Germans. Thus the testimony of the Roman historian is confronted with the deductions of the collectors of old bones, whose vague and uncertain speculations have been dignified with the high sounding title of "Ethnological Science."

As to the extinction of what has been called "the old blood," we have the argument of analogy from the case of the red man, the Maori, the Kaffir, and the native Tasmanian, which we see going on before our own eyes; and the authority at least of the historian of *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, who holds it as a fact incontrovertible "the slow retreat and gradual disappearance of an inferior race."

Like most early Scotch remains of an ecclesiastical character, the Book of Deer may with some probability be referred to the twelfth

century. The legends it contains, which relate to Celtic foundations "centuries before," must be discarded as so much fable. The oldest Scotch writing extant is a charter by King Duncan in 1095. From the twelfth century we have charters of all the Scotch kings in an unbroken series. Mr. Cosmo Innes, in regard to the Northmen, can find no evidence of their colonizing in the tenth century beyond their known and recognized earldoms of Orkney and Caithness, including Sutherland. At the same time he admits "a long dark period" from the time of Bede to the middle of the tenth century. In the middle space, he tells us, the Scots and Picts were united under Kenneth MacAlpine, and that from this time the name of Picts as a nation disappears from history. I can only conjecture that the name *Scotland* arose out of the fact that, in the middle space to which he refers, the greater part of what is now so designated had been subdued, and, as was their practice in such cases, laid under tribute by the Northmen, who had obtained the mastery over the Pictish people then inhabiting the northern division of this kingdom, and who, though long settled there, were of the same race with their invaders. The petty kingdoms of England under

the Heptarchy were often subjected to the yoke of the Danish invaders, and it is hardly to be supposed the inhabitants of North Britain were exempt from their incursions. *Skotland* in the ancient Gothic, and *Skautland* in the Icelandic tongue, mean land laid under tribute, from Gothic *Skeda*, to divide. The name seems to have some connection with Gothic *Skiota*, Icelandic *Skuta*, which in one of the senses of these words, means to invade, eject, expel, &c. There is a hamlet called *Scotland*, near Otley, in the West Riding of York. It is certain that in 1012 Canute landed near Slaines, in the parish of Cruden, and that later in the century Thorfin, Jarl of Orkney, reconquered Caithness, an event which was followed by a long succession of wars, resulting in 1034 in the total subjugation of Scotland as far south as the Firth of Tay, and that this Norwegian kingdom lasted thirty years. In the latter half of this century Scotland is found united under Malcolm Canmor, who had wedded the Saxon Princess Margaret. This event has been commonly given as the explanation of an alleged northern movement of Anglo-Saxons about the period of the Norman conquest, who, taking or receiving possession of the Scotch lowlands, displaced the native *Celtic* population.

That many individuals of the Anglo-Norman nobility, and some few Saxon—or what have been called Anglo-Saxon—families, procured grants of land within the Kingdom of Scotland from Malcolm and his immediate successors, it would be idle to dispute, but that in any sense the inhabitants of North Britain of that period, especially of the lowlands, could with the remotest approximation to accuracy be described as *native* in the sense of Celts or aborigines, or that in any sensible manner the colonizers of what is now called Scotland were displaced and superseded by a Saxon population from England, I must be permitted to doubt This, as regards Scotland, is the era of impenetrable cloudland, the outer circumference of darkness in relation to the inner circle of light which almost immediately supervenes.

Dr. Stuart says "According to M. Worsaae no small portion of the present population of Scotland, both in the Lowlands, and on the remotest coasts of the Highlands, is undoubtedly descended from the Northmen and particularly from the Norwegians. He thinks that both the Norwegians and Danes, wherever they established themselves, introduced their Scandinavian customs, and preserved in all circumstances the

fundamental traits of their national character, and therefore that it is probable the Norwegian settlers in Scotland, must in certain districts at least have exercised a vast influence on the development of the more modern life of the Scotch people, and on their national character." Dr. Stuart, as might be expected, denies to "the roving Northmen any great influence in forming the language or institutions of Scotland," &c. He speaks of the "vapouring language of the Sagas," which of course always vapour where they contain anything adverse to his hypothesis. It is evident that his are the utterances of one who has delivered himself over bound hand and foot to the doctrines of Celticism. A scholarly enquirer without doubt, it may be truly said of him as Cosmo Innes says of Riddell, it is not in *reasoning* that he excels.

The views propounded in the *Prehistoric Annals* seem to fall under a division of Scotch history suggested by the historian Dr. Robertson. This he describes as "the region of pure fable and conjecture to be totally neglected or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries." Dr. Wilson's statements in the main are a jumble of incongruous impossibilities. Perhaps no expounder of Celtic absurdity has either before

or since committed himself so irretrievably to the maintenance of impossible fiction. In his introduction to the "Annals" he sets up a wail deploring the perversity of certain writers who persist in calling a spade, a spade. He cries out that "truth is profaned when his dogmas are questioned" and would "stone the discoverer who unsettles his arbitrary land marks." Of this the author of the *Rude Stone Monuments* gives the substance in a foot note only to sweep the whole clean away. "This theory of the Danish origin of nearly all our native arts," says Fergusson citing from the "pre-historic" chronicler, "though adopted without investigation, and fostered in defiance of evidence has long ceased to be a mere popular error. It is moreover a cumulative error; Pennant, Chambers, Barry Mac Culloch, Scott, Hibbert, and a host of other writers might be quoted to show that theory, like a snow-ball gathers as it rolls, taking up indiscriminately whatever chances to be in its erratic course," &c. "In spite of his indignation however," says this matter-of-fact enquirer already referred to, "I suspect it will be found to have gathered such force, that it will be found very difficult to discredit it. Since, too, Alexander Bertrand made his onslaught on

the theory, that the Celts had anything to do with the megalithic monuments, the ground is fast being cut away from under their feet; and though the proofs are still far from complete, yet, *according to present appearances the Celts must resign their claims to any of the stone circles certainly, and to most of the other stone monuments we are acquainted with, if not to all.*" This is the deliverance of one who tells us, that "no other antiquary," so far as he is aware, "has gone so carefully and fully into the whole subject, or has faced all the difficulties with which the questions are everywhere perplexed," and this is saying much. "Of Celtic art," remarked the late J. M. Kemble, "we know but little," which is only a milder form of the statement that we know absolutely nothing. For myself, I do not believe such reasons could be given as would convince any plain man of practical sense that the Celts, or Kelts, in the sense of aborigines, possessed any knowledge of art whatever, and that all that has been written to the contrary from the time of George Chalmers to the present, is only so many figments of the imagination to the already large heap. I could not more forcibly express my views in regard to the topography of Scotland, and the history and ethnology of

the Scotch than by transcribing a paper on this subject which I contributed in 1870 to a well-known periodical under the title of *Footprints of the Northmen in North Britain.* This was written in reply to the strictures of the late Colonel Robertson, the author of a work on the Gaelic topography of Scotland, who disputed under the pseudonym, and with the gallantry and pertinacity of "A HIGHLANDER." The communications to which mine is a reply will be found in the pages of *Notes and Queries*:—

"I am sorry I have disturbed the equanimity of A HIGHLANDER. If he gives no proof other than his simple dictum to support his dogmatic negations, he at least affords abundant evidence of the possession of that quality ascribed to his countrymen — the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum.*

"'As to the Norsemen,' he says 'being the true progenitors of either the Highlanders or Lowlanders of Scotland, it is absurd, and contrary to all history* and truth.'

"What history and what truth? The truth

* "'It is somewhat probable that a colony from the north-east, and therefore in all likelihood of German descent, found its way to North Britain, between the time of Tacitus and that of Ammianus.' —*Prichard.*

as revealed in the *Prehistoric Annals* or *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, by the Spalding Club? Assuredly these do not contain the confession of my faith.

"'It is remarkable,' says Lord Lytton, 'that the modern inhabitants of those portions of the kingdom originally peopled by the Danes are, irrespectively of mere party divisions, noted for their intolerance of all oppression, and their resolute independence of character; to wit, Yorkshire, Norfolk, Cumberland, and *large districts in the Scottish Lowlands.*'

"Evidently as regards Scotland there are two periods of its history—that of impalpable myth glimpsed through the lives of the early saints, under which I take leave to include the campaigns of the Cymric bards; another, which commences with the reign of David I.—a monarch who, by reason of his kirk-building proclivities, impoverished the exchequer, and is described as 'ane soir sanct for the crown.' 'He was the founder of the church in Scotland,' and 'we cannot get beyond him.' "He was the founder of the law still more than of the church in Scotland; we cannot get beyond him." Indeed we cannot, for with this king's reign the authentic history of Scotland obviously begins. To this period, beyond all question, must be assigned the Scottish

sculptured remains, which on no authority that I can discover, save the fantastic notions of their expositors, have been arbitrarily placed far back in the dark ages.

"*Krum-r* is a proper name, of which the *r* final forms no part. Krumby means Krum's Village. In the orthography here given it occurs twice in an old map of the Fife coast, as also the name Wedder*bie* = Norse personal name *Vedur* and Danish *by*. Other names in Fife, into the composition of which this postfix enters, are Cairncu*bie*, Corte*by*, Carn*bie*, Kyna*by*, Crum*bie*-toune, Rosco*bie*, Lam*bie*-letham, and Crom*bie*-point. Examples of the Norwegian termination *bo* are found in the names Cam*bo* and Ble*bo*. In *Locker*ston, *Bore*land, *Otter*ston, *Starr*, Gadvan, Torryburn, Bal*gonar*, Bal*beardie*, Vicar-Grange, Guttergates, *Irnie*hill, and Kettle are found the Norse personal names Loker, Bor, Ottar, Starri, Godvin, Turi-Biörn, Gunnar, Bardi, Vikar, Gothar, Arni, and Ketil.

"In Fife is a place called *Carnock*, corresponding to the Lancashire landname and surname of Charnock. *Ch* and *C* = *K* = Norse proper name *Kár*, and Icelandic word *hnuk-r*, primarily the round of the knuckles, also denoting mountains and knolls so fashioned. In the county of Edin-

burgh we have Hedderwick, Brunstane-burn, Karkettill, Arnistoun, Guters, Duddistown, Lochwhar, Currie, Cur*throppl*e, Wedderly, and Silver Mills; in Linlithgo, Wholpsyid, Halbarnes, Torfichen, &c., giving the names Heidur, Brún, Kar-Ketil, Arni, Gothar, Doddi or Toddi, Loker, Kóri, Vedur, Sölvar, Hialp,* Halbiörn, and Torfi. The name Hum*by* occurs three times in Mid-Lothian, and once in the county of Linlithgow.

Aber is evidently an ancient Gothic word cognate with the German *Ober, Über*, over or beyond,† in use among the early Northmen, as Aber*cromby*, Aber*conway*, Aber*ayron*, Aber*aman*, Aber*erch*, Aber*gwilli*, Aber*mule*, Aber*lady*, Aber*car*, Aber-syc-han, Aber*feldy*, giving the personal names Krum-r, Kon-r, Aron, Amund, Urk, Göll, Miöll, Lodi, Kár, with the Scandinavian terms *by*= village, *vag* = bay, *siki*, O. Norse = a water-course, *han*, a home or abode, *fjeld*, a mountain. In Abber*tun* we have the Icelandic *tún*, in Aber*ford* the Norse *fjord*. There is Aber in Bangor, and Abor, a town of Norway on the sea; Aberden in the Duchy of Bremen, Lower Saxony; Ober*fell*, a Prussian town in the Rhenish pro-

* "Gothic *Whialp*.

† "'It is such old Scythic as to be absolute Greek—ὑπέρ, upon, above, beyond.'—*Pinkerton*.

vinces; Oberkirch, a town of Baden; Aber*vrack* in Brittany, a name of purely Norse construction; and *Haber*ness in Denmark. There was also the Pictish monastery of Aber-*curni*-g, of which Trumuin was abbot. In this is found the Scandinavian proper name *Korni*, and possibly the Dan. *Vig*, Icel. *Vik*=bay of the sea.* With the name Trumuin, otherwise *Drumuin*, compare the Yorkshire land name Droman-by. Aber, with the significance, over or beyond, is found in the Zendic or Old Persian, with which the ancient Gothic had much in common. The Germanii are mentioned by Herodotus as a Persian people, while Bishop Percy maintained that the Celts and Teutons were, *ab origine*, two distinct races.

"'It is now as certain' we are told, 'that Greek, Gothic, and Slavonic are the descendants of some ancient dialect, nearly related to the Sanscrit, as that Portuguese is derived from Latin.'

"The Sanscrit word is *Apara* अपर, identical in signification—over or beyond. Our old chronicles, put *Apur* for *Aber*. (Innes p. 778.) Icelandic writers say *Apurden* for Aberdeen.

"If further evidence were wanting, there is the statute of Canute the Dane against *Aber*murder,

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* "*Noreg* is the old Gothic form of Norway.

murder over or above—in a higher degree—as distinguishable from the less heinous crime of manslaughter. Col. Vans Kennedy, in his *Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia*, affirms that 'the British or Celtic language has no connection with the language of the East, either in words or phrases, or the construction of sentences or the pronunciation of letters.' It would, therefore, appear that the words of the several dialects of the Celtic, so named, which admit of identification with others of kindred significance in Sanscrit, is probably owing to the presence of obsolete Gothic words which form so considerable an element in these mixed and relatively modern remains. Prichard says, 'that with respect to particular vocables, he could point out instances in which Greek or Sanscrit words are preserved in the Welsh, which have disappeared in the German dialects.'

"Cromdale is not a 'field.' It is a valley, flowing through which is the river *Spey*. *Crum* being a Teutonic word = German *krumm*, in the sense of crooked, there is no need to believe it was borrowed thence from the Celts. On the contrary, Thomson tells us what it seems reasonable to believe of a people who possessed nothing

of their own, that "the Celts were generally the borrowers from the Gothic.' There is Crom*ford* in Derby. *Dale*=Old Norse *dal-r*, a valley. The *Spey*, the most rapid river in Scotland, seems to be from the Icelandic *spy, spya*, to eject from the mouth. Old Norse *spýta*=spout. In Norway is a lake called "Spyten Vand," the spout water.

"In the counties of Kerry and Leitrim, which A HIGHLANDER says the Danes never inhabited, are the names Glanbe*by*, Milltown, Knockane, Balliduff, Cloghane, and Hungry-hill, in which are found the Danish personal names Miöll, Hnockan, Bali-Duf-r, Klag, and Hunger. Situated in this county are the hills called *Barnasna*= Scand. proper name *Biarna*, and Icel. *snae* = snow. Not far from Kerry is an islet named *Calf*, a term employed by the Northmen to designate a smaller island in relation to a greater. In Leitrim we have Banduff, Hamilton, Drumahair, Carrick, and Drummote, indicating settlements of the Northmen, Duf-r, Hamil, Dromi-Hár, Koeruk, and Dromi-Ot-r.

"If the Northmen did not make their descent upon the mainland of Scotland before the tenth century, the Picts *must* have been Scandinavians. If the Picts were *not* Scandinavians they spoke a dialect of the Icelandic tongue, for it is plain to

any one that not a few of the river names and mountain ranges, and much of the topographical nomenclature of the mainland of Scotland, highland and lowland, must have been imposed by a race speaking the language of the Northmen. Tacitus gives to the Picts a German descent, while Bede tells us that they differed in size, their red hair, and their language from the Irish Scots. Pinkerton and Jamieson maintained their Teutonic origin. To Dr. Macculloch there seemed 'little reason to doubt the Picts and Scandinavians were radically one and the same people.' Last, not least, Dr. Latham suggested that 'after all the Picts *may* have been Scandinavians'—a remark which called down the stricture of the late Mr. Rhind of Sibster, who pronounced this scholarly inquirer the 'farthest from the truth' of any who had written on the subject, 'always excepting John Pinkerton;' but Mr. Rhind was 'satisfied as to the generic Kelticism of the Picts,' which, however, I am not. Dr. Jamieson viewed it as 'no inconsiderable proof that the northern parts of Scotland were immediately peopled from the north of Europe by a Gothic race, that otherwise no satisfactory account can be given of the introduction of the vulgar language.'

"'If at the present moment,' says Mr. Ellis, 'the Celtic language prevailed over the whole of Scotland, instead of being confined to the Highlands, such a testimony would compel us to admit, either that the Saxons and Danes had been prevented by some unaccountable cause from attempting to form a settlement on the northern shores of this island, or that their attempts had been rendered abortive by the superior bravery and skill of the inhabitants. But as the same Teutonic dialects are found to form the bases of the language, both in England and in the Lowlands of Scotland, Mr. Hume has been induced—and apparently with great reason—to infer from this similarity of speech a similar series of successive invasions, although this success is not recorded by the historians of Scotland. To suppose, indeed,' continues this writer, 'that a few foreign adherents of a court, received as refugees, could change the language of a country, is to form the idea of something which would appear in history as a fact completely insulated.'

"I choose to believe that the Caledonians never were displaced, that their conflicts with the Danes were not between Celt and Teuton, but between the earlier Scandinavian settlers, and their invaders the Northmen, with whom they owned a common origin; and that the occupants of the Scottish mainland then, as at present, were radically none other than part and parcel of 'that great people' who, as we learn

from Gibbon, 'afterwards broke the Roman power, sacked the Capitol, and reigned in Gaul, Spain, and Italy.' That the Picts were of Gothic origin appears to me the theory of light against darkness, the acceptance of plain facts against the perversion of all testimony; the only conclusion that fulfils the conditions of circumstantial evidence—the one fact which, being assumed, explains all the others.

"It has been boldly asserted that the language of Scotland, in the reign of Malcolm Canmor, 'king, court, and people, Highland and Lowland, except a narrow slip of sea-coast, was Celtic or Gælic;' which, however, is merely the echo of an opinion set forth by Verstegan, and wholly unsupported by any kind of evidence.

"There are unquestionably two languages in North Britain, in grammatical construction radically distinct; the Lowland, or vernacular Scotch, formed independently like the English, without any element of Celtic; and the Gælic speech of the mountaineer, moulded into a written language within a comparatively recent period, and bearing a close affinity to the Manx—the Celtic element in both cases being proportionately overlaid with the language of the old Norwegian immigrants by whom the native Celts were surrounded, and into

whose ranks, as an inferior people, without a written tongue—doubtless as serfs and bondsmen —they were eventually absorbed.

"Mr. Planché, in allusion to the early history of Ireland, informs us upon the authority of Tacitus, and 'on every evidence, historical or traditional,' of 'the introduction at some very remote period, either by conquest or colonization, of a distinct race from its original inhabitants; a fact,' he says, 'which is substantiated by the marked distinction still existing in the persons and complexions of the peasantry of the eastern and midland districts,' who exhibit 'the blue eyes and flaxen hair characteristic of all the Scythic or German tribes.'

"Thomson says 'it is well known that ever since the earliest ages of our history adventurers from the shores of Scandinavia made annual excursions into Ireland and Scotland to plunder cattle for their winter subsistence.' These Gothic freebooters were called *Scots* from the nature of their visits—a name which, it is not difficult to believe, may have had its origin in the Gothic *Skot*, Icel. *Skaut*, 'tributum exigere.' The Irish, we are told, still understand *Scuite* 'as a wanderer or *pillager*.' Wheaton tells us that in 852 all the northern adventurers in Ireland submitted

to the King of Scandinavia, who 'levied tribute on the natives'—a practice to which, in the view of previous exactions, is probably to be ascribed the name Scotland, at one time applied to Ireland, afterwards to Scotland itself, as an effect of the like cause.

"The editor of *The Athenæum*, reviewing Mr. Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, says:—

"'As we compare the oldest monuments of the Erse with those dialects confessedly Teutonic, we are powerfully struck with the resemblance. This fact alone,' he continues, 'independent of all authority, we hold to be decisive of the question, that the *Scots* were Germans, whether derived immediately from the country usually understood by that name or from Scandinavia is of no consequence.'

"To this I have to add, on the authority of a scholarly German, that from his acquaintance with the *patois* of Northern Germany he could understand and make himself intelligible to the Gaelic-speaking natives of Scotland.

"The several dialects of what has been called Celtic, it seems to me, might be compared to so many dust-heaps to which has been swept the refuse of all other languages from time immemorial. Hardly in the view of probability does it appear more reasonable to derive the place-names of England and those of the Scottish mainland

from the Welsh or Gaelic, than it would be to derive the words and phrases of the great Teutonic stock from the modern English, or the language spoken by our Transatlantic kindred, from the fragments of broken English which alternate with the 'caw caw click click' in the vocabulary of the Red Man of America.

"In plain English, the Scotch Highlanders, originally perhaps a semi-Celtic race, are radically Northmen, chiefly Norwegians, differing from the inhabitants of the Lowlands only in that into their composition there *does* enter a *Celtic* element; the Lowlanders, as descendants of the Picts or ancient Caledonians, a Gothic race, augmented with new accessions of Danes and Northmen, being purely, or as much as may be, Goths or Teutons.

"The manners and customs of the Highlanders, their dress, ornaments, art, and implements of warfare, plainly point to their Scandinavian accessions. The sword-dance is Norwegian. The *fibula* of the Scottish mountaineer was brought thither by the Northmen. To Sweden we must go for the *staendser hus*, Gothic *stanid hos*, stained hose. The plaid of the Highland Scot is explained in the Mœso-Gothic *plaid*, a cloak, Icelandic *palt*. The sporan has no verbal con-

nection in Erse, but is found in the *briki beltis sporn* of the Goths, Danes, and Swedes; while tradition, we are told, points to the Northmen as the authors of the bagpipe,* with whom also clanship appears to have had its origin. Neither can there be any doubt as to the northern derivation of the word *foster*.

"The flat bonnet, Planché says, if ancient, is of Saxon or Danish introduction. Not even the kilt has any connection with the Celts. This was worn by the Norwegian King Magnus, and is explained in the Gothic *kiolt*, Icelandic, *kult*, *kellta* (vernacular Scotch *kiltie*, a Highlander), Danish *kilt*, a lap or fold—drapery; while the songs that Macpherson found floating in the mouths of the Highlanders, like the poetry of the so-called Cymric bards, are conceived in the spirit of the Northmen. In short, the pure Celt, or primitive barbarian of the British Isles, naked as from the earth, save so much of his person as was concealed by a covering formed of the skins of wild animals, seems to have had absolutely nothing he could call his own. I know not indeed if, in view of their supposed Celtic origin, it was in allusion to this the old chiefs of

* "'This was used by the Greeks and Romans. It was the instrument of war among the Roman infantry.'—*Pinkerton*.

Argyll adopted the motto 'Vix ea nostra voco.' The peculiar habit long worn by the Scottish mountaineer was abolished by Act of Parliament in the reign of George II., till, in 1782, as Wallace informs us, by a repeal of the prohibitory statute, 'a garb not remarkable for decency was restored to its admirers.' It is proverbially impossible to 'tak the breeks aff a Hielandman"; but having denuded him of his kilt, propriety suggests that he be instantly dismissed."

Of the qualifications of him who led the vanguard of Celticism we have the following account. "George Chalmers, the author of 'Caledonia,' the enemy of Pinkerton, the champion of the Celts, has done more than any one man for the topography and family history of Scotland. He laboured under the disadvantage of defective scholarship, of which he was quite unconscious; and he is not more strong in Gaelic and British, I believe than in Latin." Such is the estimate of Professor Innes, himself an expounder of that impossible hypothesis. And this is the man who essays to instruct others in the mysteries of Celticism. It is the old story of the blind leading the blind, and he who accepts the convoy must inevitably fall into the ditch. At the siege of Copenhagen, a British bomb fell on the

study of Grimm Thorkelin, the Danish antiquary, annihilating "Beowulf, transcript, translation, and commentary, the toil," says the elder Disraeli, "of twenty years." Viewed as historic proofs, I doubt if it could be regarded a calamity if the entire network of Celticism, together with the bootless disquisitions of its modern expositors, were in like manner discounted from the materials of authentic history; but whatever may be thought of their conclusions, the praise of singular ingenuity cannot be denied to a class of writers, who, without one well authenticated fact, in the face of probability, and in contradiction of common sense, have succeeded in raising "so large a superstructure on such a slender foundation."

The Crouchers,
Aldborough Hatch, Essex.

MAY, 1884.

NOTE.—A good deal of the matter incorporated in the preceding pages was communicated by me to *Notes and Queries* between the years 1868 and 1872, under the signatures of "W. B. Glasgow," "Middle Templar," "BILBO," "J. Ck. R.," &c.